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Trees and Plants in Herodotus

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THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

JULY 1942

NOTES AND NEWS

A GENERAL MEETING of the Classical Association was held at Cambridge from 14 to 16 April. King's, Trinity, and Westminster Colleges and the Training College for Women provided accommodation for a large number of members and their guests. The presidential address on 'The Classics and the Man of Letters' was delivered by Mr. T. S. Eliot in the Regent House. A vote of thanks was moved by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Mr. A. B. Ramsay, Master of Magdalene College. (The address is to be published in pamphlet form.)

Papers were read by Mr. R. M. Rattenbury on 'An Ancient Armoured Fighting Force'¹; by Mr. L. J. D. Richardson on 'Virgil and the Homeric Epithet'; by Dr. F. M. Cornford on 'The Marxist Interpretation of Ancient Philosophy'; by Miss J. R. Bacon on 'Fact and Fiction in Greek Mythology'; by Professor J. N. Mavrogordato on 'The Continuity of Greek Literature'; and by Mr. D. S. Colman on 'The Malignity of Herodotus'.

On the two afternoons members had an opportunity of visiting the library of Corpus Christi College and the Lewis Collection of gems and vases.

The Annual Dinner was held at King's College. The speakers were the Provost of the College and the President of the Association.

A discussion on 'Some Experiments

in Learning and Teaching Greek' was opened by Mr. W. F. J. Knight and Mr. R. S. Stanier. Mr. Knight described his experiences in introducing Homer to non-classical students, but the points raised later were mainly concerned with the practicability of teaching Greek in schools before Latin or, where provision could be made for the teaching of one ancient language only, instead of Latin. There was, however, a strong body of opinion that both languages should normally form part of the school curriculum and that the study of classics should be encouraged rather than the study of Greek or Latin separately. Miss A. K. Clarke, of Cheltenham Ladies' College, spoke of an experiment she was herself introducing of devoting to Greek a quarter of the time spent on a four-year Latin course, which would enable every girl learning Latin to acquire a carefully selected minimum of Greek.

At the Business Meeting Dr. J. T. Sheppard, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, was elected President for 1942.

THE Societies for the Promotion of Hellenic and Roman Studies will hold a joint meeting in Oxford, at St. Hilda's College, from 29 August to 5 September; and members of the Classical Association also are invited to attend and to bring friends. Professor Gilbert Murray will preside, and many lectures and papers have been promised.

TREES AND PLANTS IN HERODOTUS

IT was not until the age of Aristotle and Theophrastus that any systematic and scientific study of botany was undertaken and the foundations laid upon which modern botanical science has been built; but earlier Greek writers were interested in trees and plants in varying degree and give us much unscientific information about them.

In a paper on 'Trees and Plants in Homer' read before the Classical Association and published in the *Classical Review* (I, 1936, pp. 97-104) I attempted to draw conclusions about Homer's botanical knowledge and interests; and in my introductory remarks, speaking of various Greek authors who were interested in plant-life, I suggested that

¹ To be published in *C.R.*

an examination of the botanical references in Herodotus would show that his work 'contained a mass of information on what might be called economic botany, the distribution of plants and their practical uses'.¹

Assuming for the moment this economic interest on the part of Herodotus, I propose first to give a list of the sixty trees and plants which he mentions, together with the more interesting remarks which he makes upon them, arranged under headings which suggest their place in human economics, and then to draw some general conclusions about Herodotus' attitude towards trees and plants and the uses which he assigns to them.

CEREALS

The grasses, *Gramineae*, take pride of place as the source of the staple food both of human beings and of animals from the earliest times, their grain providing bread and their foliage and stems food for grazing animals. In fact the civilization of the world as we know it is essentially a grassland civilization; the only peoples who do not make cereals their staple diet are certain desert and backward forest tribes.

Wheat, *πυρός* (*Triticum vulgare*), the most important cereal in antiquity as in modern times, has been grown since the Neolithic Age. The form of wheat now cultivated is no longer found in a wild state, but it is presumed that its ancestors were natives of western or central Asia. It is usually referred to by H. under the more general term of *σίτος*, corn, or *ἄλευρον*, wheaten flour. He tells us that in Assyria it yielded two- or three-hundredfold (i. 193), and that 11,340 bushels a day of corn were consumed by the army of Xerxes (vii. 187).

¹ I also suggested that Theocritus 'could be shown to be a true child of the age in which he lived as having a genuine scientific interest in botany'. This subject has been ably treated by Miss Alice Lindsay in an article entitled 'Was Theocritus a Botanist?' (*Greece and Rome*, vi, pp. 78-93), in which she shows not only that Theocritus, who was originally trained for the medical profession, was a scientific botanist, but also that his botanical references can be used to locate the scenes of the various poems.

It was used with tamarisk for making a kind of synthetic honey on the river Maeander (vii. 31), and its straw was used for wrapping up the offerings sent by the Hyperboreans to Delos (iv. 33), which shows that it was grown in central Russia.

Two other kinds of wheat are mentioned by H., *one-seeded wheat*, *ζειά* (*Triticum monococcum*), and *rice-wheat*, *δλupa* (*Triticum dicoccum*). He seems to regard these as two names for the same grain, which, he states, the Egyptians preferred to ordinary wheat (ii. 36); both are mentioned in Homer as food for horses.

Barley, *κριθή* (*Hordeum sativum*), was the second most important cereal in antiquity, and appears to have been derived from a wild species which grew in western Asia Minor. Meal made from it was called *ἄλφιτον*. H. states that barley grew to a huge size in Assyria (i. 193). It was commonly used in sacrifices, being sprinkled on the heads of victims, but this practice did not exist in Persia (i. 132, 160). The Egyptians made a kind of beer from barley (ii. 77). The kings of Sparta had a right to a bushel of barley-meal at each new moon and on the seventh of each month (vi. 57).

Two minor cereals also are mentioned by H. *Italian millet*, *μελίμη* (*Setaria italica*), which is now used only as a bird-seed, was cultivated in a district south-east of the Caspian Sea (iii. 117); and another *millet*, *κέγχρος* (*Panicum miliaceum*), grew to a great size in Assyria (i. 193) and was grown in south Russia (iv. 17).

ποιή is used by H. as a general term for grass which is used for fodder. He notes the particular richness of the grass on the banks of the river Borysthenes (Dnieper) (iv. 53), and states that the Scythians destroyed the grass when they retreated before Darius (iv. 120). The Persians during their retreat after the battle of Plataea were reduced to eating grass (viii. 115).

VEGETABLES

The pulses (peas and beans), which belong to the family of *Leguminosae*,

being rich in proteins and fats, were from the earliest times an important source of food, both fresh and dried, being simple to cook and suitable for storing.

The *broad bean*, κύαμος (*Vicia Faba*), was, according to H. (ii. 37), regarded by the priests as unclean and therefore not sown in Egypt; it was used for voting purposes at Athens (vi. 109). The *lentil*, φακός (*Ervum Lens*), a small pulse common everywhere in the Mediterranean lands and eaten dry, was grown in south Russia (iv. 17).

The only root-vegetable mentioned by H. is the *radish*, ραμμαίη (?*Raphanus sativus*), which was used by the Egyptians as a purge (ii. 125) and for cleansing the intestines of the dead before embalming (ii. 88).

Celery, σέλινον (*Apium graveolens*), was used in the embalming of Scythian kings (iv. 71).

Of bulb-vegetables, the *onion*, κρόμμυον (*Allium cepa*), a native of Europe and western Asia, and *garlic*, σκόροδον (*Allium sativum*), were issued as rations to the workers on the Great Pyramid (ii. 125) and were grown by tribes of south Russia (iv. 17).

Lettuce, θρίδαξ (*Lactuca sativa*), is mentioned in a story about Cambyzes (iii. 32).

FRUIT-TREES

The *apple*, μήλον (*Pirus Malus*), was no doubt so familiar to his readers that H. makes no reference to its cultivation; it is mentioned in i. 195, ii. 92, and vii. 41.

The *vine*, ἄμπελος (*Vitis vinifera*), is frequently mentioned by H., usually in connexion with the wine which it produces; it was not grown in Assyria (i. 193). Dried grapes or raisins (ἀσταφίς) were placed in the carcasses of animals sacrificed in Egypt (ii. 40).

The *date-palm*, φοῖνιξ (*Phoenix dactylifera*), and its fruit (βάλανος) are frequently mentioned by H. It was plentiful in Assyria, where wine and honey were made from the fruit (i. 193). The Assyrians 'tied the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to a date-bearing palm, so that the gall-fly might enter the dates and the fruit

might not fall off; for male palms, like unripe figs, have gall-flies in their fruit'. The wood of the palm was used for making casks (i. 194). There was a famous grove of palm-trees at Chemmis in Egypt (ii. 93, 156), and palm-trees were abundant at Augila in north Africa (iv. 172, 182).

The *fig*, συκή (*Ficus carica*), is a native of the Mediterranean countries. H. notes that it does not grow in Assyria (i. 193). Figs were used for stuffing sacrificial victims in Egypt (ii. 40). The sterile inflorescence of the wild fig (ὄλυνθος) bred gall-flies, fertilizing the fig in the same way as the date-palm¹ (i. 193).

The *pomegranate*, ροπή (*Punica granatum*), is mentioned by H. in an anecdote about Darius (iv. 143), where allusion is made to its many-seeded structure. The fruit was imitated in gold and silver on the spear-shafts of some of Xerxes' soldiers (vii. 41).

The *lotus* or *jujube tree*, λωτός (*Ziziphus Lotus*), which is common in the oases of the African desert and has been acclimatized on the French Riviera, was the food of the Homeric lotus-eaters. H. tells us that its fruit was the size of a lentisk berry, and that a kind of wine was made from it (iv. 177).

The ποντικὸν δένδρεον of iv. 23, 'about the size of a fig-tree and bearing a fruit as big as a bean with a stone in it, from which the Scythians extract a thick black liquid called "aschu", which they mix with milk, and make cakes from the thickest of the lees', is probably the *bird cherry* (*Prunus padus*), from which the modern Cossacks make a drink called 'atschi'.

TREES AND PLANTS PRODUCING OILS AND FATS.

Vegetable oils fall into two main classes, fatty oils and essential oils. The former are the more important, being used in bulk; the latter are used as essences or flavourings and for aromatic purposes.

The *olive*, ἐλαίη (*Olea europaea*), is a

¹ In actual fact the fig is fertilized by the gall-fly but not the date.

native of the Mediterranean countries and supplied the principal vegetable oil in antiquity as at the present day. It occurs frequently in myth and tradition. The sacred olive-tree which Athena produced in her contest with Poseidon for the lordship of Athens stood on the Acropolis, and, having been burnt by the invading Persians, the next day put forth a new shoot a cubit in length (viii. 55). A crown of olive was given to victors in the Olympic Games (viii. 26), and crowns of olive were bestowed on Themistocles and Eurybiades for their services against the Persians (viii. 124). Xerxes in a dream saw himself crowned with an olive-wreath, which presently vanished from his head (vii. 19). There was a sacred olive-tree at the entrance of the temple of Artemis at Delos (iv. 34). Olive-wood obtained from Athens was the material of statues set up by the people of Epidaurus (v. 82). The oil was used in Egypt for burning at sacrifices (ii. 40), and for purposes of illumination (ii. 62). No olive-trees grew in Assyria (i. 193).

The *castor oil plant*, *συλλυκύπριον* (*Ricinus communis*), a native of Africa, was used according to H. (ii. 94) by the Egyptians, who called it 'kiki'. It was planted on the banks of rivers and lakes. It was bruised and pressed, or else roasted and boiled, and the liquid used for burning in lamps. There is no mention of its medicinal use.

A species of *cedar*, *κέδρος* (*Juniperus oxycedrus*), and the *cypress*, *κυπάρισσος* (*Cupressus sempervirens*), provided ingredients for an unguent used by the Scythians (iv. 75); oil made from the former was used in embalming by the Egyptians (ii. 87).

The *sesame*, *σῆσαμον* (*Sesamum indicum*), was according to H. (i. 193) cultivated in Assyria for its oil; this oil, which is known as benze oil, is still in common use in the East. It was grown also in the East beyond Persia (iii. 117). The seeds were mixed with honey and made into cakes by the Greeks (iii. 48).

The *tamarisk*, *μυρική* (*Tamarix tetrandra*), produced a resinous, sugary exudation which was used in Lydia (vii. 31)

for making cakes when mixed with wheaten flour. Tamarisk wood was used in Egypt for making rafts (ii. 96).

SPICES, AROMATIC PLANTS, AND GUMS

Two kinds of *cinnamon* are mentioned by H., *κασίη* (*Cinnamomum iners*) and *κιννάμωμον* (*C. Cassia*). Both were found in Arabia (iii. 107, 111). The former was used in Egypt for embalming corpses (ii. 87).

Laserwort, *σίλφιον* (*Ferula tingitana*¹), which grew abundantly in Cyrene in North Africa (iv. 169, 192), was the chief source of wealth of the kings of that country, who had the monopoly of its sale; it is still found. A famous vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris represents Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, superintending the weighing and lading of this plant. Its juice was used mainly for medicinal purposes, but also for flavouring.

Anise, *ἄννησον* (*Pimpinella Anisum*), was used in the embalming of Scythian kings (iv. 71).

The *frankincense-plant*, *λίβανος* (*Boswellia Carteri*), was grown in Arabia (iii. 107) and in the eastern part of Egypt (ii. 8). Frankincense was widely used in Egypt (ii. 40) and Babylonia (i. 183), and as an ingredient in an unguent made in Scythia (iv. 75).

Myrrh, *σμύρνη* (*Balsamodendron myrrha*), was grown in Arabia and was used for stuffing the carcasses of sacrificial oxen in Egypt (ii. 40), and for embalming the dead (ii. 86). The mythical bird phoenix was said to bury his father in an egg made of myrrh (ii. 73). It was used by the Persians during the invasion of Greece for the treatment of wounds (vii. 181).

Three shrubs which produced gum are mentioned by H., the *mastich-tree*, *σχίνος* (*Pistacia Lentiscus*) (iv. 177); *storax*, *στούραξ* (*Storax officinalis*) (iii. 107), which was brought to Greece by the Phoenicians, and *ladanum*, *λάδανον* (*Cistus cypricus*), the juice of which was widely used in Arabia, being burnt for its fragrance (iii. 112).

¹ Or possibly *F. marmarica*, which still grows in Cyrenaica (see *Journ. Bot.*, March 1941, p. 36).

DYE

Madder, ἐρευθέδανον (*Rubia tinctorum*), was used as a dye in Libya (iv. 189).

FIBRES AND TEXTILES

The *cotton-plant* (*Gossypium arboreum*) seems to have been cultivated from very early times in Egypt and India. That H. is referring to this plant when he speaks of the Indians in Xerxes' army as wearing garments ἀπὸ ξύλων πεποιημένα (vii. 65, cf. iii. 100), and when he mentions embroidery χρύσῳ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου on a breastplate of linen sent from Egypt to Samos (iii. 47), is clear from a passage in Pliny (*N.H.* xix. 1), who writes of 'fruticem quem gossipion vocant, plures xylon; et ideo lina inde facta xylina'. H. states that it was superior to sheep's wool (iii. 106); but it seems probable that the difficulty of separating the hairs from the seed made its manufacture difficult in antiquity, and indeed the economical use of the cotton-plant was not solved until the 'spinning-jenny' was invented in 1767. Cotton-seed oil was apparently not used by the ancients.

Flax, λίνος (*Linum usitatissimum*), a herb of temperate countries, was widely used for manufacturing linen and is often mentioned by H. (The term βύσσος also is used for flax and the material made from it.) Flax was used for garments (i. 195; ii. 37, 81; iv. 47, etc.), for breastplates (iii. 47, 182, etc.), for mummy-wrappings (ii. 86), for bandages (vii. 181), and for ropes. For the last purpose λευκόλινον (*Linum album*) was generally used (vii. 25, 34, 36). Linseed oil obtained from flax seems not to have been used in antiquity.

Hemp, κάνναβις (*Cannabis sativa*), a native of eastern Europe and western Asia, grew wild and was also cultivated by the Thracians (iv. 74), who made a material which only experts could distinguish from linen. Hemp does not seem to have been used by the ancients as the source of the narcotic 'bhang' or 'hashish' now much used in Asiatic countries.

The *papyrus-plant*, βύβλος (*Cyperus Papyrus*), is frequently mentioned by H. It was employed by the Persians for

making ropes (vii. 25, 36), and by the Egyptians for making sails and for caulking the seams of their boats (ii. 96), for making shoes (ii. 37), and for wrapping round the horns of sacred bulls (ii. 38); it was also roasted and eaten (ii. 92). But its most important use was for the manufacture of writing-material (ii. 100, v. 58). The process of preparing papyrus for writing is described by Pliny (*N.H.* xiii. 11-13). The pith was cut into long strips, which were laid vertically, and over the layer thus formed another series of strips was gummed, laid horizontally; the strips thus formed could be attached to one another so as to form rolls of any required length. The use of the word βύβλος was transferred from the material upon which the book was written to the book itself. The plant no longer grows in Egypt, but is found in the Sudan and can be seen in Europe in the neighbourhood of Syracuse.

Another plant of the same genus, mentioned by H. (iv. 71) as used in the embalming of Scythian kings, is κύπερος, probably *Cyperus rotundus*, a species of the same genus as *galingale*.

The *reed*, κάλαμος (*Arundo donax*), according to H. was applied to a number of uses. Reeds were used for making mats which were placed between the courses of bricks to strengthen the walls built round Babylon (i. 179), for matting stretched across the framework of rafts made in Egypt (ii. 96), for the walls and roofs of houses at Sardis (v. 101), in the construction of boats in India (iii. 98), for arrows by the Persians (vii. 61), and for bows and arrows by the Indians (vii. 65).

Another term for *reed* is σχοῖνος, which is used by H. in describing the dwellings of the nomad Nasamonians of Libya (iv. 190), which were made of reeds entwined with *asphodel* stalks, ἀνθήρικες (*Asphodelus ramosus*).

TREES

The *oak*, δρῦς, is mentioned only twice by H., in the place-name Δρνὸς κεφαλαί (ix. 39) and where he mentions the oak woods which grew on the mountain-side through which ran the track whereby

the Persians turned the Greek position at Thermopylae (vii. 218).

The *Valonia oak*, φηγός (*Quercus aegilops*), formed the sacred grove of Zeus at Dodona (ii. 55, 56). [The Latin *fagus* is not an oak but a beech, and our English word 'beech' is etymologically the same as φηγός.]

The *plane-tree*, πλατάνιστος (*Platanus orientalis*), is mentioned by H. as growing in the precinct of Zeus at Labraunda in Caria (v. 119) and beside the road by which Xerxes journeyed from Phrygia into Lydia (vii. 31).

The *willow*, ἰτέη—there is no evidence which of the numerous *Salices* is meant—was used in Armenia for the framework of boats (i. 194), and wands of willow were used by the Scythians in divination (iv. 67).

The bark of the *lime-tree*, φιλύρη (*Tilia platyphyllos*), was used by the Scythian tribe of the Enareis in divination (iv. 67).

The *pine*, πίνυς (*Pinus Laricio* or *P. halepensis*), according to H. alone of trees, if cut down, never grows again (vi. 37).

The *acacia*, ἄκανθα (*Acacia arabica*), was used in Egypt for ship-building and for masts (ii. 96), and produced a gum (ib.), the use of which is not mentioned by H., but Theophrastus (*H.P.* iv. 2, 8) says that it was used in tanning and also as a medicine.

Ebony, ἔβεος (*Diospyrus mespiliformis*), was brought as a tribute by the Ethiopians (iii. 97, cf. 114). The word is probably Egyptian in origin.

The *cornel-tree*, κράνεια (*Cornus mas*), provided the Lycians with wood for bows (vii. 92).

OTHER PLANTS AND SHRUBS

Roses, ῥόδα, are described by H. as growing in the garden of Midas (viii. 138); they are said to have had sixty petals each (ἐν ἑκάστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα), which finds a parallel in the Modern Greek word for a rose, τριαντάφυλλον, 'the flower with thirty petals'. The rose, and the *lily*, κρίνον, were used as devices on the tops of Babylonian staffs (i. 195).

The *Nile water-lily*, λωτός (*Nymphaea*

Lotus), grew in the Nile. According to H. (ii. 92) the Egyptians plucked it and dried it in the sun and crushed the poppy-like centre of the flower and baked loaves of it (ii. 92); the root also was edible and had a sweetish taste.

The *Egyptian bean* (*Nelumbium speciosum*) is probably the plant to which H. refers under the name of κρίνον (ii. 92). It grew on the banks of the Nile and produced edible seeds of the size of olive-stones, which were eaten both fresh and dry. It also belongs to the water-lily family.

Clover, τριφύλλον (*Trifolium* of some kind), was used by the Magians for strewing over sacrificial victims after they had been killed (i. 132).

The *myrtle*, μυρσίνη (*Myrtus communis*), is usually mentioned by H. in connexion with sacrifices and festal occasions. It was strewn on the roads by the Persians to celebrate their capture of Athens (viii. 99, cf. 54), and myrtle flowers were used in sacrifices by the Persians (i. 132). Myrtle boughs were used for drawing up pitch out of a pool in Zacynthus (iv. 195).

An examination of the passages in which Herodotus refers to the flora of the lands about which he writes makes it clear that he took a real interest in plant life and applied to it his faculty of acute and accurate observation throughout his travels in search of material for his history.

It is obvious that he does not regard trees and plants from a picturesque point of view as adjuncts to the landscape;¹ indeed, he shows no aesthetic interest in scenery in general and makes no attempt to sketch in the background of the incidents which he relates.

Again, he takes no scientific interest in plant life. He takes trees and plants as he finds them and seldom refers to their structure or to the method of their propagation.² His terminology for the

¹ The mention of the roses which grew in the garden of Midas (viii. 138) seems to be the only instance in which he refers to flowers for their own sake.

² The only mention of such methods is the use of the gall-fly for fructifying the date-palm and the fig (i. 193).

parts of plants is vague and unscientific. For example, *φύλλον* means sometimes a leaf (vii. 218, viii. 115) and sometimes a petal (viii. 138); the term *βάλανος* is used both for an acorn (i. 66) and for the date of the palm-tree (i. 193); and *κάλυξ* is used generally to mean seed-vessel, husk, or pod (ii. 92, iii. 100). Further, he shows very little interest in the use of plants as drugs, the point of view from which they are naturally regarded by his great contemporary the physician Hippocrates and his school.

Herodotus' interest is not so much in Nature as in human nature, and he therefore regards plants and their products almost solely from the aspect of their usefulness to man in his daily life, for the provision of food and as material for his buildings, ships, arms, furniture, implements, and clothing, and also, since religion was an important part of daily life and H. was deeply interested in everything connected with it, for their uses in religious observances, such as sacrifices and other festivals, and in divination and the embalming of the dead. He thus gives us an interesting, though not of course necessarily complete, picture of the stage which contemporary man in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and the adjoining lands had reached in the application of vegetable products to the prime needs of his daily life.

One point which strikes the reader very forcibly is the very narrow range of the plants which H. mentions as used for human food. For example, of the six chief cereals used at the present day,

wheat, barley, oats, rye, rice, and maize, only the first two are mentioned. The oat, which is mentioned by Hippocrates (*Vict.* 2, 43), never occurs in H.; of rye, no cultivated form was known in Classical Greece, and the earliest reference occurs in Pliny (*N.H.* xviii. 16, 40, § 140); rice, which is a product of the monsoon region of Asia, was unknown to the Greeks until they came into contact with India through the conquests of Alexander the Great,¹ while maize is a product of North America. Of these four cereals rice, which at the present day contributes more largely to the diet of mankind as a whole than any other foodstuff, strikes us as the most serious omission.

Another point which emerges is how little the ancients realized the value of by-products, mainly owing to the lack of machinery. For example, no use was made of the extremely valuable vegetable oils to be derived from the cotton plant and from flax.

To sum up, the interest which Herodotus takes in trees and plants is never either aesthetic or scientific; it is purely practical. He cares nothing for their appearance, structure, or propagation; he regards them solely from the economic point of view of their usefulness in man's daily life.

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¹ Unless, indeed, we see a reference to rice in H.'s mention of a 'grain, growing naturally from the earth, about the size of millet-seed, which they [the Indians] gather and roast and eat, husk and all' (iii. 100).

ΑΚΡΑ ΓΥΡΕΩΝ ONCE MORE

Γλαῦχ', ὄρα, βαθὺς γὰρ ἦδ' οὐ κύμασιν τὰράσσεται
πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄκρα Γυρέων ὄρθον ἵσταται νέφος,
σημα χεϊμώνος· κινάνει δ' ἐξ ἀελπίτης φόβος.
(Archilochus fr. 56 Diehl)

THE manuscripts of Plutarch, who quotes these lines at *Mor.* 169 B, have *γυρέων*, *γυρεῶν*, *γυρῶν*, *γυρεύων*, while Heraclitus c. 5 offers *γύρεον*, *γύριον*, and *γυραῖ*.

Neither Dr. Bowra, who invites us to place the *ἄκρα Γυρέων* in Euboea and to find in the cloud a prophecy of the war of the Lelantine Plain (*C.R.* liv, 1940,

p. 127), nor Professor D'Arcy Thompson, who would transform them into mere *ἄκρα γ' οὐρέων* (*ibid.* lv, 1941, p. 67), observes that the words are to be found, by an almost certain emendation, in *ad Atticum* v. xii. 1. Having reached Delos after a rough passage from the Piraeus, Cicero declared that he was determined to stay there, *nisi omnia AKPATNPEON*¹

¹ Thus M, the best MS., according to Constans. Others appear to have -THP- or -ΘHP-.